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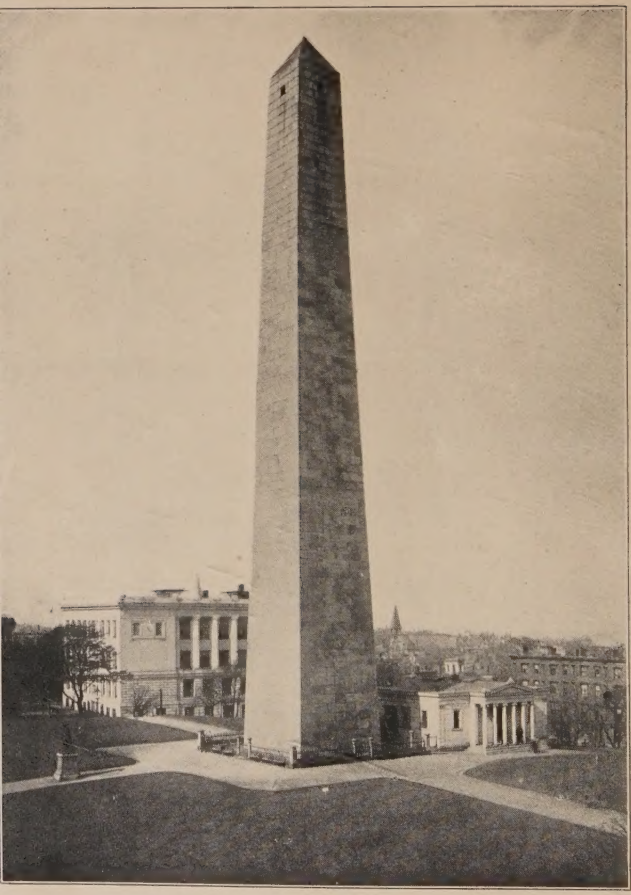

Bunker Hill Monument

The Academy Classics

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

WEBSTER'S FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
HORACE E. HENDERSON
HEAD OF ENGLISH DEPARTMENT, PAWLING SCHOOL

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PREFACE

No group of addresses could better illustrate American political ideas than that contained in this volume. As the utterances of three great statesmen, at three important periods in our national history, they combine to present a valuable lesson in true Americanism.

The first, written at the very beginning of our national existence, shows prophetic instinct, not only as to inevitable dangers, but also as to methods of meeting those dangers. The second, written at the end of our first half century, emphasizes the importance of American liberty in its effect upon the world at large, and reiterates the duty of maintaining the principles upon which that liberty, and all national liberty, depends. The third and fourth, written at the time when the supreme test of Union was in progress, emphasize still more emphatically the duty of every American citizen.

Studied in the order here given and as a group, they present a lesson in the patriotic principles of liberty and union that every American youth should learn.

H. E. H.

MAY, 1923

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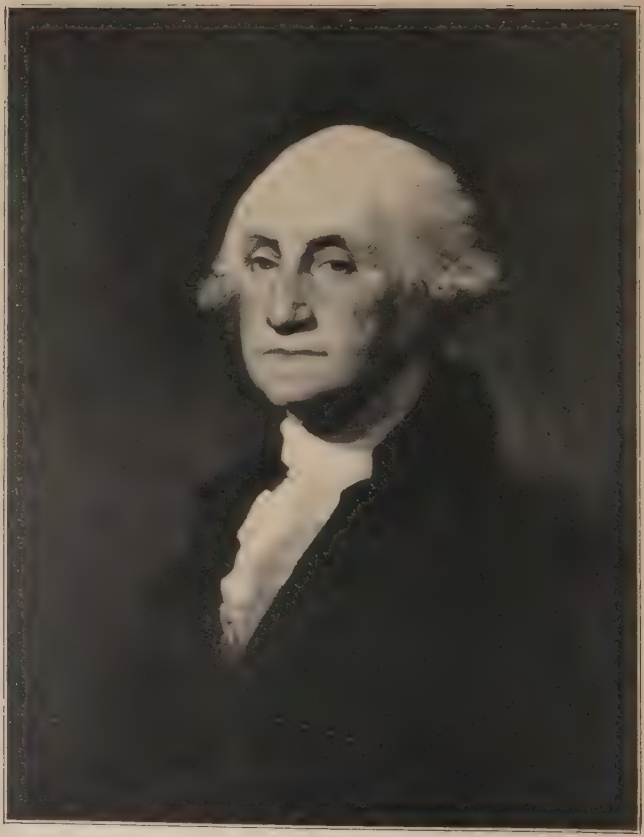

George Washington

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

To the people of the United States.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported

by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards

the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst

appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging — in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, — the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence — that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual — that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained — that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue — that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all

important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home: your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial,

habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principle. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *North*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East*, supplies requisite to its growth and comfort — and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength or from an

apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalship alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere?

Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its hands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, — *Northern* and *Southern* — *Atlantic* and *Western;* whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unani-

mous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and

unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administra-

tion the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and

opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and

countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of

liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchial cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced

by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined

education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facili-

tate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of

an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordi-

nary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their

genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error

than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has

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continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound, in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give

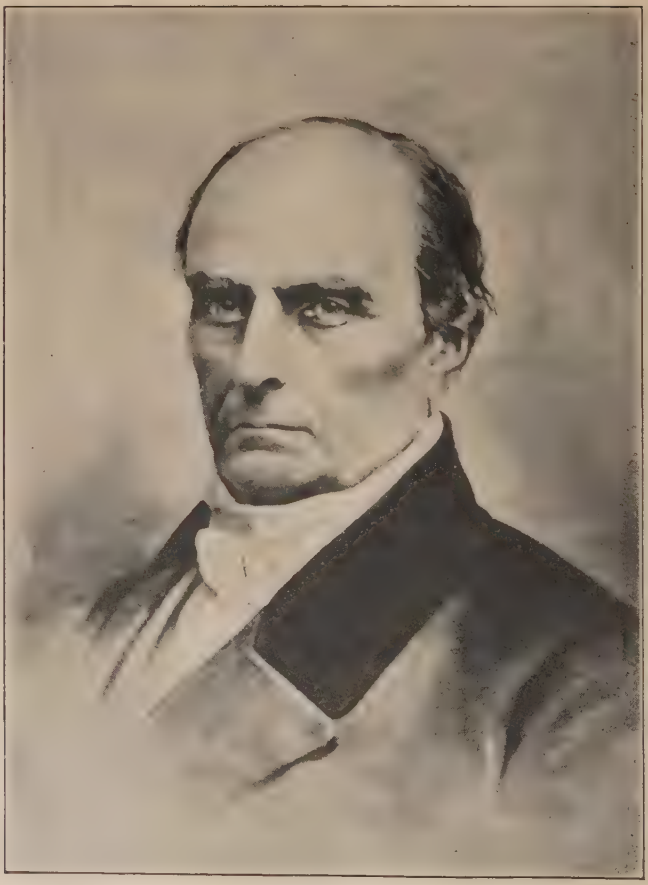
it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government — the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES.
17th September, 1796.



Daniel Webster

WEBSTER'S
FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION

This uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and, from the impulses of a common gratitude, turned reverently to heaven, in the spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be any thing in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June 1775 would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have

poured its light, and the eminence where we stand, a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to suffer and enjoy the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes, and our own existence. It is more impossible for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say, that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great Discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and

ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without its interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient colony forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

But the great event, in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate; that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of coun-

try, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

The society whose organ I am, was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted; and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain, as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know that, if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that, which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and

which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself, can carry information of the events we commemorate, where it has not already gone; and that no structure which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it forever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that

whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished, where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event, to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come on all nations, must be expected to come on us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power still stand strong. We wish that this column rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object on the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden his who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries, are, in our times, compressed

within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in the same term of years, as since the 17th of June 1775? Our own Revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved; twenty-four sovereign and independent states erected; and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not far the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve; and the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry; and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become the fellow citizens and neighbors of those who cultivate the hills of New England. We have a commerce that leaves no sea unexplored; navies which take no law from superior force; revenues adequate to all the exigencies of government almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect.

Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution, which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our con-

tinent, our own example has been followed; and colonies have sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from beyond the track of the sun; and at this moment the dominion of European power, in this continent, from the place where we stand to the south pole, is annihilated forever.

In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge; such the improvements in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and above all in liberal ideas and the general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it; and we now stand here, to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we hold still among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here, from every quarter of New England, to visit, once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

Venerable Men! you have come down to us, from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood, fifty

years ago this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else, how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewed with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death; — all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with an universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave forever. He has allowed you to behold and to

partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amidst this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance, and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve, that you have met the common fate of men. You lived, at least, long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

> 'another morn,
> Risen on mid-noon;'—

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless.

But — ah! — Him! the first great Martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils, and the destined leader of our military bands; whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit; Him! cut off by Providence,

in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling, ere he saw the star of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood, like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage! how shall I struggle with the emotions, that stifle the utterance of thy name! — Our poor work may perish; but thine shall endure! This monument may moulder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit!

But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary Army.

VETERANS! you are the remnant of many a well fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY! when in your youthful days you put every thing at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this! At a period to which you could not

reasonably have expected to arrive; at a moment of national prosperity, such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met, here, to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of an universal gratitude.

But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead as well as the persons of the living, throng to your embraces. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces; when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory; then look abroad into this lovely land, which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad into the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind!

The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the 17th of June, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to

all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested, in the Act for altering the Government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the Port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated that, while the other colonies would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage, which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns, would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people! ¶ Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized, everywhere, to show to the whole world that the colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem

was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned, in a tone of the most lofty self-respect, and the most indignant patriotism. 'We are deeply affected,' said its inhabitants, 'with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province, greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the Port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors.' These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart, from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of

the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared, that this colony 'is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America.'

But the hour drew nigh, which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner spread, than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,

'totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.'

War, on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned; the plough was staid in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of a civil war. Death might come, in honor, on the field; it might come, in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy was full in their hearts. 'Blandishments,' said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, 'will not fas-

cinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined, that wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men.'

The 17th of June saw the four New England colonies standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them forever, one cause, one country, one heart.

The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate result as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal now lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country, has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will

forever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

To this able vindication of their cause, the colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw that if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than they had recently known in the wars of Europe.

Information of these events, circulating through Europe, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me. He has not forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast.

Sir, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy to the living. But, sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God, for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of Liberty should be conducted, through you, from the new world to the old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you, and yours, forever.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this edifice. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Sir, monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them, this day, to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, Sullivan, and Lincoln. Sir, we have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. *Serus in cœlum redeas.* Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our own country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current beneath,

strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the world will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors,

or fellow-workers, on the theatre of intellectual operation.

From these causes, important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed, and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true, when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made in the last half century, in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn, for a moment, to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master

topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years, it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that, from the beforementioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual attention, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, greatly beneficial, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity; till at length, like the chariot wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the

rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

We learn from the result of this experiment, how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for making the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great portion of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had aways been open to our colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the axe was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the master work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular, on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all, into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired, is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has ascertained, and nothing can ascertain the amount of ultimate product.

Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of govern-

ment, to think, and to reason, on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the Representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

When Louis XIV said, "I am the state," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state; they are its subjects; it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian combatant, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions:

> 'Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
> Give me to see — and Ajax asks no more.'

We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiments will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments, which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, and add it to other powers, or to execute the system of pacification by force, and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greece at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age, when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest author-

ity does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned, should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any who would hazard it.

It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that while, in the fulness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction, in our undertaking, to a country which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured, that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or another, in some place or another, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

Among the great events of the half century, we must reckon, certainly, the Revolution of South America; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that Revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The

late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own Revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provisions for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states, more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear an useful part in the intercourse of nations. A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but constitutes, itself, the highest and most essential improvement.

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. The thirteen little colonies of North America habitually called themselves the 'Continent.' Borne down by colonial subjugation, monopoly,

and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there hath been, as it were, a new creation. The Southern Hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

And, now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. And let us endeavor to comprehend, in all its magnitude, and to feel, in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just administration.

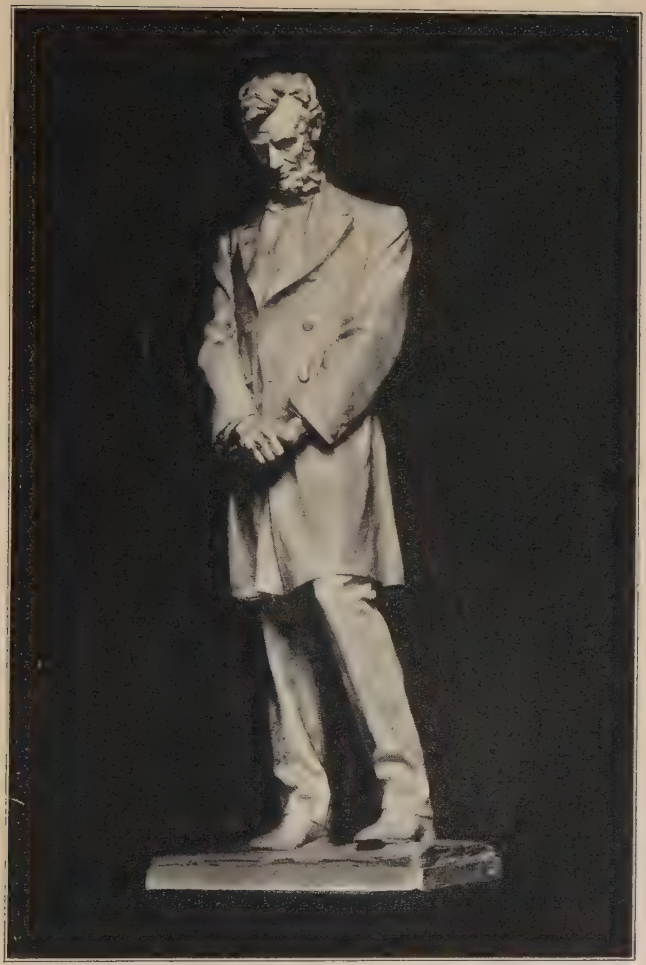
We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing conditions, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent

on us is to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, perhaps not always for the better, in form, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that, in our country, any other is impossible. The principle of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it, immovable as its mountains.

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those are daily dropping from among us, who established our liberty and our government. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war

for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four states are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid Monument, not of oppression and terror, but of wisdom, of peace, and of liberty, upon which the world may gaze, with admiration, forever!



By courtesy of the sculptor, Daniel C. French

Abraham Lincoln

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly

advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain — that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom — and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

MARCH 4, 1865

Fellow-Countrymen: At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it — all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union

without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war — seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war; while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces: but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered — that of neither has been answered fully.

The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

NOTES

NOTES

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

Introduction. — In order to appreciate Washington's *Farewell Address*, the student must remember that it was written when our country was very young. Sixteen years in the life of a nation is a short time. The Revolution ended in 1783, but the years between the end of the war and the adoption of the Constitution counted for little in the development of the nation. The real beginning of the United States as a nation was with the adoption of the new form of government, in 1789. Independence had been acknowledged, but our national existence was not really recognized until the new political form had also been effected.

The development of a nationality was the one great problem that Washington faced when he became President of the new republic. This development was both internal and external. The people of the different states had to learn that they were really one people; foreign nations had to learn that there was on this side of the Atlantic a nation, in place of European colonies. Under the Articles of Confederation, before the adoption of the Constitution, the newly formed states were engaged in continual disagreement and quarrels. One of the objects of the *Constitution*, according to its Preamble, was "to form a more perfect union." Washington was one of the first to see the need of a more perfect union, and was a prime mover in the adoption of the Constitution. He believed, and rightly, that the new frame of government, when actually put into running form, would bring about the desired unity of national life, and, working within and without, place the United States upon the map of the world.

It is easy for us who live to-day, after more than a century

and a quarter of national life under the Constitution, to recognize the value of the principles embodied in that document; it required both foresight and faith at the beginning really to see and believe what we now know to be accomplished. We must not allow our familiarity with the advancement of our country to minimize our appreciation of the mind that could look so clearly into the future.

Authorship. — Toward the end of Washington's first term, weary of the strain and responsibility of office, he was anxious to "retire to the shades of private life." With retirement in view, he consulted with James Madison, a statesman in whose wisdom and judgment he had great confidence, in regard to the preparation of a suitable farewell address to the people, and sent to him the notes embodying his own ideas on the subject. Madison replied with the draft of an address and suggestions of methods of publicity, but urged him to reconsider his determination to retire, and pointed out the necessity of his continuing in office. Other friends seconded this appeal, and Washington took their advice, as is set forth in the third paragraph of the *Address*. He was influenced in this by his desire to vindicate and establish his foreign policy, which he believed so essential to the new republic.

When, however, the end of his second term drew near, and when the beginning of this policy had been really established, he saw no further reason for "sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty." This time he consulted another statesman, one in whom he had come to repose implicit confidence, Alexander Hamilton, and submitted the original draft prepared with the assistance of Madison, with a request for criticism and suggestion. He further requested that the opinion of John Jay, in whose "abilities and purity" he had come to trust absolutely, be solicited, as to the contents. Upon the receipt of Hamilton's draft, Washington went over the work, and then resubmitted it to Hamilton for final revision. Soon after, with a few more changes by Washington, it was sent to Claypole's *Daily Advertiser*, a leading Philadelphia newspaper, in which it appeared September 19, 1796. The final draft, in Washington's own

handwriting, is now in the Lenox division of the New York Library.

These facts are interesting, as illustrative of Washington's manner of enlisting the services of the men best fitted to render assistance in matters connected with his administration. It is to be observed, however, that their work was that of assistants, not creators. The ideas set forth are those embodied in his first draft, and though the early part may bear some trace of the hand of Madison, the general style of the *Address* is that of the later papers and private letters of Washington. It must be remembered that the heavy classical style of Johnson was still considered the model when this paper was written, and that called for a formalism not found in the writings of Webster and of Lincoln. When compared, however, with other state documents of the period, the *Farewell Address* will not suffer in point of comparative simplicity. At any rate, Washington's meaning is clear throughout, and thus he meets the first requirement of composition.

Text. — The text of this edition is that of the reprint of the document, made in pursuance of a resolution of the House of Representatives, February 23, 1912. The modernization of the original punctuation and capitalization should, it is believed, make it more agreeable to the students for whom this work is intended.

IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF WASHINGTON

1732. Born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, February 22.
1751. Adjutant of the Virginia troops at the outbreak of the French and Indian War.
1753. Commander of the northern military district of Virginia; sent with dispatches to the French on the Ohio.
1755. Aide to General Braddock in his campaign.
1758. Commanded the advance guard in the expedition against Fort DuQuesne.
1758–1773. Member of the House of Burgesses of Virginia.
1774. Delegate to the First Continental Congress.

1775. Delegate to the Second Continental Congress.
1775–1783. Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.
1787. Presided over the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia.
1789. Elected first President of the United States, by unanimous vote.
1792. Reëlected unanimously.
1797. Retired to Mount Vernon; commissioned Lieutenant General to command the army against France.
1799. Died, December 14.

PAGE 1, Line 2. **a new election**, in the following November, 1796. Under the original provision of the Constitution, each Presidential elector cast two votes. The candidate receiving the highest number of votes was elected President; the one receiving the next highest, Vice-President. In both the first and second elections, held in 1789 and 1792 respectively, Washington had received one vote from each elector, and had thus been unanimously elected both times.

It is interesting to note that in the election of 1796, after this *Address* had been published, two votes were cast for Washington.

The electoral votes of 1789 and 1792 were as follows:

1789.	Washington	69
	John Adams	34
	Ten others	35
1792.	Washington	132
	John Adams	77
	Clinton	50
	Jefferson	4
	Burr	1

12. In this paragraph and the three following, Washington clearly sets forth his idea of the duty of a citizen to serve his country in whatever capacity he may be called upon to serve. A glance at the chronology on pages 63 and 64 will show how small a part of his life since his majority had been passed in employment entirely personal.

2, 7. what appeared to be your desire, as shown by his unanimous election referred to in the note on the first paragraph.

13. the preparation of an address to declare it to you. For this, see the introductory note on *Authorship of the Address*.

15. critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, particularly England, France, and Spain. England had placed restrictions on our trade; she had not given up the military posts on the northern and western frontiers; the boundary between Maine and Canada was not settled. France was on the verge of war with England, and was looking for the aid of America in return for her help in our Revolution. Spain was hostile to France, and unwilling to grant any favors to a possible ally of that nation. Accordingly, she was reluctant to grant the use of the lower Mississippi to Americans living on the upper eastern bank of that river, and needing it for an outlet to the south. The boundary of Florida was also a matter of dispute with Spain.

19. concerns, external as well as internal. By the time that this document was issued, considerable advance had been made toward the recognition of the new national government as a real government, on the part of the citizens of the various states. The central power under the Articles of Confederation had been slight, and it naturally took some time for people to realize that there was a central government that really had power to sustain itself.

external. The Jay treaty with England had adjusted most of the troubles with that nation as well as could be expected. The Pinckney treaty with Spain had secured to the United States the long desired free use of the Mississippi. Sympathy for the French Revolutionists had changed to a general disapproval of their attempts to force a violation of American neutrality. The excesses of the Reign of Terror, the discourtesy shown our representative, and the behavior of the French minister, Genêt, all contributed to this change of feeling. (See also the note on **33, 25**, *Bunker Hill Oration*.)

27. the proper occasion. Washington's first inaugural, April 30, 1789.

3, 28. circumstances in which the passions . . . were liable to mislead. . . . Here is clear reference to the difficulties of establishing the new Federal Government and the bitter contests between the two political parties, Federalist and Anti-Federalist. (See also note on **5, 22.**)

4, 22. The preceding paragraphs constitute the introduction, and give Washington's reason for declining to run again, together with the feelings by which he was animated. The remainder of the *Address*, except the two concluding paragraphs, contain the precepts of true statesmanship that make this document worth studying.

5, 22. this is the point . . . against which the batteries of . . . enemies will be . . . directed. Already the people had been divided into two distinct political parties. The Federalists, under the leadership of Hamilton, were in favor of a strong central government. The Anti-Federalists, led by Jefferson, believed in states rights. The former were stronger in the manufacturing and commercial states of the northeast; the latter in the agricultural sections of the western and southern sections. The avowed principles of the French Revolutionists had found special favor with the Anti-Federalists. The French minister, Genêt, had really been backed, in secret, by men high in the councils of this party, in his endeavors to gain assistance for the French, even to the point of raising forces to fight with the Revolutionists. Washington's policy, as outlined later in the *Address*, was to maintain a strict neutrality; accordingly it was part of Genêt's scheme to discredit the central government and the policies of the Federalist party. The delay of Spain in opening the lower Mississippi, combined with a natural sympathy for the French seekers for constitutional liberty, made sections of the West fertile ground for such propaganda, and there had actually been some talk of secession and alliance with Spain.

6, 3. palladium, the statue of Pallas, in Troy, upon whose preservation the safety of the city was believed to depend.

11. The theoretical advantages of unity in this paragraph

are followed by the practical advantages enumerated in the following paragraphs.

24. In the next three paragraphs Washington gives the practical benefits to be derived from union. The idea that the interests of the East were not those of the West was prevalent among the settlers along the banks of the Mississippi. The Spanish restrictions on their commerce, finally removed by the Pinckney treaty, stirred them up against the Spanish to the degree that an expedition against New Orleans was actually contemplated. This was one of the schemes by which Genêt tried to discredit the United States government. The long delay in settling the Mississippi question confirmed the idea that the new central government was disposed to neglect the interests of the West in favor of those of the East. This idea was made much of by Genêt.

7, 2. equal laws of a common government. Under the Articles of Confederation a state could levy duties on goods brought in from another state; the Constitution forbade this.

13. protection of a maritime strength. The principal strength of the United States in the War of 1812 was in the navy, which was largely composed of privateers, or converted merchantmen, built in Northern ports.

16. improvement of interior communications. Washington was among the first to urge national internal improvements in the shape of post-roads and canals.

27. Any other tenure. Here is another reference to the feeling in the Southwest for secession or alliance with Spain.

9, 27. The attitude of the **inhabitants of the western country** towards the policy of the central government may be compared with the attitude of the people of the western coast to-day, in relation to the Japanese question.

10, 3. how unfounded were the suspicions. There was certainly some foundation for suspicions in the delay over settling the Mississippi question. See note, **6, 24.** In 1785, Congress had been willing to yield the American claim to the navigation of the lower Mississippi for twenty-five years, in return for commer-

cial privileges particularly advantageous to the Eastern seaports. The Pinckney treaty, however, as noted above (2, 19) secured the desired rights. The Jay treaty with England was not entirely satisfactory, but most thoughtful Americans agreed with Washington that it was the best that could be secured under the circumstances.

15. **advisers, . . . who would sever them from their brethren,** notably General Wilkinson, of Kentucky. He was suspected of complicity in a plot to get Kentucky to secede from the union. Later he was courtmartialed for complicity in the famous Burr conspiracy. In his trial it was developed that he had taken a secret oath of allegiance to Spain, while he was a general in the United States army.

25. **first essay.** Though entitled "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," the former frame of government had little effect in promoting real union. One of the prime objects of the Constitution, as set forth in the Preamble, was "to form a more perfect union." Washington had been among the first to see the necessity of this, even before the close of the Revolution, and had been among the first to propose a Constitutional convention. When that convention assembled in Philadelphia in 1787, he was made presiding officer.

11, 17. One of the greatest tasks that confronted Washington was to get American citizens to recognize the authority of the new central government. The lack of executive power in the government under the Confederation had made it necessary for the several states to carry out the provisions of Congress in many cases. Internal taxes in particular, imposed by the power so little understood, were most unpopular. The borderers of Pennsylvania had paid little attention to the state government, and were emboldened by their early success to oppose the new taxes. After patient endeavors to compose the insurgents, Washington called out troops to the number of 15,000, and the law-breakers found out that the new government had an executive with power.

Professor Henry James Ford, in his excellent work on Hamilton, tells us that in a letter to Governor Lee of Virginia, Wash-

ington said that he considered " this insurrection as the first formidable fruit of the Democratic Societies." (See note, **19**, 27.)

12, 13. The few changes found necessary in the Constitution, in spite of the unforeseen development of the country and the many changes in political situations, bear testimony to the foresight of the framers of that document.

The amendments are as follows:

1791.	I–X.	Bill of Rights. (Regarded practically as a part of the original Constitution.)
1798.	XI.	Lawsuits against states.
1804.	XII.	Election of President and Vice-President.
1865.	XIII.	Abolition of Slavery.
1868.	XIV.	Civil Rights.
1870.	XV.	Negro Suffrage.
1913.	XVI.	Income Tax.
	XVII.	Popular Election of Senators.
1920.	XVIII.	Prohibition.
	XIX.	Woman Suffrage.

13, 15. In the discussions of the Constitutional Convention two parties developed — the Federalist and the Anti-Federalist. (See note on **5**, 22.) The success of the Federalists in the Constitutional Convention, followed by Hamilton's success in the administration of the national finances, kept the Federalists in power. The French Revolution and its influence on American thought gave opportunity for the increase of Anti-Federalist doctrines, and the Genêt episode, at first, helped them with the people. Washington's belief in the Federalist principles was so sincere that he could see no other side.

27. Here, again, in this paragraph and the next, may be seen the consideration of a subject first from a theoretic, then from a practical standpoint.

14, 17. **distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration.** The opposition of Jefferson to many of the ideas of Washington and Hamilton gives force to this remark. The political enmity between these two leaders of the two political parties led finally to the resignation of both from the cabi-

net, and thus deprived Washington of the valuable assistance they might have given his administration, had it not been for their party spirit. In this paragraph is clearly seen also a reference to the attitude of the followers of Jefferson in regard to the French situation.

27. Here is one point that has not found favor with the people of the United States. Our history has been largely political, and party spirit has been carried to the extreme. Of course the Civil War gives the best example of this.

15, 17. respective constitutional spheres. The legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the government, under the Constitution, were designed to be independent of each other, and to serve as mutual checks. The tendency of modern progress has been to enlarge the power of the executive, especially during the past few years, under the unusual and unforeseen conditions that arose in connection with the World War.

16, 14. Compare the last point on page 49 of Webster's speech with this idea.

17, 10. Promote . . . institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In this connection Washington has given us a clear example of what a present day statesman calls practical idealism. He was not content with the expression of lofty ideals; he tried to put them into execution. As evidence of his belief in the value of educational institutions, he had, in 1784, turned over to Liberty Hall Academy, in Lexington, Virginia, a number of shares in a canal company that had been granted him by the legislature of Virginia, in recognition of his services in the Revolution. In appreciation of this gift, the name of the school was changed to Washington Academy. In 1813, it became Washington College, and in 1871, after General Robert E. Lee had been its president for five years, it became Washington and Lee University. The present income from Washington's gift is some $3000 annually.

In his will Washington made a specific bequest of fifty shares in another company, " towards the endowment of a university to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia,

under the auspices of the general government, if that government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it." Unfortunately, Congress has never inclined to extend this fostering hand.

16. public credit. The following table shows how Washington's advice has been followed:

PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES

1790.	$75,000,000. (This includes the debt of the Continental Congress and the various states, assumed by the new government.)
1806.	Reduction began.
1812.	$45,000,000.
1816.	$127,000,000. (War of 1812.)
1819.	$96,000,000.
1825.	$84,000,000.
1832.	$24,000,000.
1835.	No debt.
1845.	$16,000,000.
1846.	$63,000,000. (Mexican War.)
1852–7.	$28,000,000.
1857–60.	$65,000,000.
1861.	$91,000,000.
1862.	$514,000,000.
1863.	$1,120,000,000.
1864.	$1,816,000,000.
1865.	$2,846,000,000. (Civil War.)
1909.	$913,000,000. (Interest bearing.)

It will be noted that Washington's advice on public credit has been followed. Note, however, the result of the late war:

1920. $23,778,535,007.

18, 20. a people always guided by . . . justice and benevolence. The foreign wars in which the United States has been involved serve as a proof of how closely the country has followed this part of Washington's advice.

19, 2. inveterate antipathies. It was natural that a feeling of antipathy towards England should subsist in 1796. Many who had fought against the English were still active in affairs; and the long delay of the British government in making the treaty mentioned in the note (**2, 19**) had not tended to promote good feeling.

27. passionate attachment. Fondness for the French Revolutionists had characterized the Anti-Federalists. (See note, **33, 25**, *Webster's Oration*.) Jefferson had been American representative in Paris at the beginning of the Revolution, before the excesses of the extremists developed, and the struggle for the rights of man appealed with particular force to him. A large number of Americans, seeing only an attempt to follow American example, went beside themselves in sympathy for the French Revolution, and even condoned the attempts of Genêt, the French representative, to violate the neutrality of the United States. Clubs were formed on the model of the Jacobin Club of Paris, and extreme democratic ideas were zealously cultivated. The idea that France, who had helped us in the most critical period of the Revolution, was now fighting for liberty was sufficient appeal for them. Washington, however, was wise enough to see that Revolutionary France had developed a very different proposition, and that the French Revolutionists lacked the stability that Webster comments on in page 49 of his oration, where he compares the two peoples. It took the excesses of the Reign of Terror to dissipate this popular misconception. (See also notes **5, 22**; **13, 15**; **22, 26**.)

20, 3. participation in . . . the wars of the latter. The French Republic had declared war on England.

21, 18. rule of conduct. It is a question whether any other state dictum has been so often quoted by American public men as that contained in this paragraph. The Monroe Doctrine is the converse. The two have been considered as fundamental truths by most Americans. Washington's rule was quoted by pacifists before the United States entered the World War, with complete disregard of the change of conditions since Washing-

ton's day; and it was quoted by many more Americans when the question of our entrance into the League of Nations came before them for determination. The result of the presidential election of 1920 would seem to indicate that a great majority of Americans to-day believe in Washington's rule. The attitude of the American representatives in the Armament Conference in 1921–2, and their avoidance of anything in the shape of old-time political alliances is further proof of our general acceptance of this rule of conduct. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the oft-used phrase, "avoid entangling alliances," does not occur in the *Farewell Address*.

26. controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Political alliance with France in 1796 would have involved us in a war with England, which had become the principal opponent of France, and the real question involved was whether France should be a constitutional monarchy or a republic.

22, 4. On the other hand, the maintenance of neutrality on the part of the United States at the present day is not so easy as Washington thought. Our situation is no longer "detached and distant." Modern inventions of intercourse have brought the United States closer to Europe than were the North and South to each other in 1796. The premise on which Washington bases the argument of this paragraph is no longer true; consequently his conclusion can no longer apply. Our experience in the late war proves that we cannot "defy material injury from external annoyance." Possibly the power to defend ourselves, as shown in that war, may deter belligerent nations from giving us provocation.

26. existing engagements. The Treaty of Alliance with France in 1778 provided that each party should guarantee to the other its territorial possessions in America. In February, 1793, the French Republic declared war against England. According to the strict letter of the treaty, the United States was bound to defend the French West India Islands against British attacks. Washington laid the case before his advisers and asked whether the treaty was still in force, in view of the overthrow

of the government by which it had been made. Jefferson maintained that it was still in force. Hamilton, on the other hand, maintained that the government that made the treaty had ceased to exist, and that therefore the treaty had lapsed. The very existence of the United States demanded that she take no part in the tremendous conflict now approaching. Washington sided with Hamilton, and in April, 1793, issued the famous proclamation of neutrality, of which he makes mention in the last paragraph on page 24. This should make clear what he means by "observed in their genuine sense." It should be noted that the French Republic revoked the commercial treaties made by the monarchy, and that Genêt never demanded the carrying out of the provisions of the Treaty of 1778.

23, 7. Commercial treaties were necessary for the new nation. Before the Revolution foreign commerce had become of the greatest value to the colonies. The new nation needed many things obtainable only in Europe, and needed a market for its already important products. To establish foreign commerce on a sound basis was one of the greatest necessities of the beginning of our national existence.

24, 4. In this paragraph Washington repeats his most important warnings.

26. This proclamation was mentioned in the note **22, 26.** "This proclamation is of the very greatest importance in the history of the country, as it was then first definitely laid down as a policy that the United States was to hold apart from the wars and politics of Europe. It proved to be very difficult to carry out in practice, and the difficulty was not in any way lessened by the conduct of the French agent in the United States, the 'Citizen Genêt.'" — Channing, *Students' History of the United States*.

The history of this proclamation forms a chapter in the struggle between Hamilton and Jefferson. The latter held that since to declare war was the exclusive right of Congress, according to the Constitution, to declare neutrality must of necessity come within the province of Congress, not of the President. Hamilton realized that the activities of Citizen Genêt, if not curbed,

would result in war with England; and war with England would have been fatal to the new country. Jefferson finally agreed that the proclamation might be issued, provided the word "neutrality" be omitted from it. It is interesting to notice the extent to which the first president sought and respected the "advice and consent" of his cabinet.

25, 3. This paragraph is characteristic of Washington's mental methods. First came "deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain"; then came conviction; then determination to maintain his position with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

16. The neutrality virtually admitted by both France and England at the time Washington was writing was later violated by both nations. The French violation led to the naval war in which nearly a hundred French ships were captured by the Americans. Every schoolboy knows the story of the War of 1812. In our own day, our attempt to maintain neutrality in the Great War was futile.

26, 3. There is no "affected modesty" in this paragraph, any more than in the opening parts of the *Address*.

18. **native soil**. Washington's great-grandfather had settled in Virginia in 1657.

WEBSTER'S FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION

Introduction. — On the exterior of Sanders Theatre, at Harvard University, are the busts of seven orators — Demosthenes, Cicero, St. Chrysostom, Bossuet, Pitt, Burke, and Webster. This ranking of Webster, placing him not only as the foremost American orator but also as one of the seven great orators of the world's history, is generally accepted.

A reference to the chronology below will show that Webster's oratorical career began before he had graduated from college. It was not, however, until he had served his first term in Congress and had returned to the practice of law in Boston that he really attracted attention. His argument in the Dartmouth College case placed him in the front rank of American orators, and his public utterances during the next seven years made sure his position, so that on the occasion of the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill Monument, June 17, 1825, he was at the height of his early power. His subsequent orations, in and out of Congress, served but to increase his fame and establish his reputation as the foremost orator of the United States.

Of Webster's mental power, Lodge says that he had wonderful instinct for seizing on the very heart of a question, and for extricating the essential points from the midst of confused details. According to the same authority, the predominating quality of Webster's genius was an unequalled power of stating facts or principles. These two points are clearly manifest in the First Bunker Hill Oration.

IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF WEBSTER

1782. Born at Salisbury, New Hampshire, January 18.
1794. Entered Exeter Academy.
1797. Entered Dartmouth College.
1800. July 4. First public oration, at Hanover, New Hampshire.

1801. Graduated from Dartmouth.
Studied law in Salisbury and Boston.
1805. Admitted to the bar at Boston.
1807. Moved to Portsmouth, New Hampshire.
Practiced law; made several public addresses.
1812. Elected to Congress as Representative from New Hampshire.
1816. Moved from Portsmouth to Boston.
1818. Dartmouth College case.
1820. Plymouth oration.
1823. Elected member of Congress from the Boston district.
1824. Speech on appointment of a Commissioner to Greece.
1825. June 17. First Bunker Hill Oration.
1826. Eulogy on Adams and Jefferson.
1827. Elected Senator from Massachusetts.
1830. Replies to Hayne.
1836. Received the electoral vote of Massachusetts for President.
1839. Reëlected to the United States Senate.
1841. Resigned from the Senate to become Secretary of State.
1843. Second Bunker Hill Oration, on completion of the monument.
1844. Reëlected United States Senator.
1850. Again resigned to become Secretary of State.
1852. Unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency.
Oct. 24. Died at Marshfield, Mass.

PAGE **27**, Line **1**. **uncounted multitude.** The procession, some two miles long, included two hundred veterans of the Revolution, forty of whom had fought at Bunker Hill. (See **37**, **21** and **34**, **26**, respectively.)

18. The battle of Bunker Hill was fought June 17, 1775.

28, 15. This paragraph is well worth memorizing.

29, 18. Webster gives a broader touch here, by his reference to the "early and ancient colony." His friend Edward Everett, who edited Webster's orations, thinks that the allusion is to the Maryland settlement on the St. Mary's River.

30, 3. The society whose organ I am. Webster was president of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, an organization formed for the purpose of raising funds for the erection of the monument.

13. **solemnities suited to the occasion,** the Masonic ceremonies at the laying of the corner stone, just before Webster spoke.

14. **prayers,** by the Rev. Joseph Thaxter, who had offered prayer before the battle of Bunker Hill.

18. **high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur.** A fine description of the monument. It is of gray granite, in shape like an Egyptian obelisk, two hundred and twenty-one feet high, on a base thirty feet square. It was completed in seventeen years, at a cost of $120,000. Webster delivered his *Second Bunker Hill Oration* on the occasion of its dedication, a year after it was completed.

23. In this paragraph the real purpose of the monument is given. For splendid paragraph development and fine climax this paragraph is well worth memorizing.

33, 4. under other circumstances. No people ever achieved independence and really placed a nation on the map of the world in as short a time as the Americans had. In Europe, with the conflicting interests of neighboring states, it would have been impossible. If one considers the time that elapsed before England or France became as much of a nation as the United States was in 1825, one may get the full force of Webster's statement. The United States in 1825 was the nation that Washington had in prospect when he wrote paragraph **22, 4,** of his *Farewell Address.*

25. **a mighty revolution.** The French Revolution really began in 1789, when the king, under compulsion, summoned the States-General, the old French legislative body that had not been summoned since 1614. The States-General consisted of three branches — clergy, nobility, and third estate. The last named, representing at least ninety-six per cent of the nation, took matters in its own hands, called itself a "National Assembly," and demanded a constitution. A "Declaration of

the Rights of Man" was issued, similar to our Declaration of Independence; a constitution was drawn up, making plans for a Legislative Assembly, to which the king was forced to submit. Austria and Prussia espoused the cause of the nobles and clergy who had been driven out of France, and the new government declared war on these two powers. The refusal of the king to ratify measures of the Assembly led to a crisis. A constitutional convention was convened, and its first act was to depose the king and proclaim a republic. The king was tried for treason and executed. The next act was to declare war on England. (See note, *Farewell Address*, **19**, **57**.)

At first many honest patriots were active among the Revolutionists, Lafayette being one of the most prominent. These sought for a constitutional monarchy; but the extreme element got control, and swept the new republic along a course of cruelty and blood, until the movement culminated in the Reign of Terror (1793–4). The Directory followed. Then Napoleon appeared on the scene, and by a series of steps, first as Consul, then as Consul for life, overthrew the republic, and made himself Emperor (1804). As Emperor, he "shook to the centre the political fabric of Europe," overthrowing or subjecting the thrones of Prussia, Austria, Naples, Spain, Holland, and other less important states.

Napoleon conquered Spain in 1810. The Spanish colonies in America took advantage of the opportunity to assert their independence. Between the years 1811 and 1825 every one of the South and Central American colonies won its independence, except the three Guianas, British, Dutch, and French. In view of what Webster says (page 33) about the brevity of the American Revolution, it is interesting to note that it took Ecuador thirteen years, and Bolivia sixteen, to gain freedom.

34, 4. from beyond the track of the sun; *i.e.*, the Tropic of Capricorn.

5. the dominion of European power, in this continent. Upon the downfall of Napoleon at Waterloo, in 1815, the states subjugated by him were restored, with some changes in the direction of constitutional limitation (page 51). Spain was too weak

to reconquer South America, and some of the members of the alliance that had opposed republican and imperial France, showed signs of offering assistance. This called forth the well-known Monroe Doctrine (1823), in which President Monroe asserted that the United States would consider any attempt on the part of the European allies of Spain to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States and as an unfriendly act. With this principle England was in hearty agreement. Ever since, the Monroe Doctrine has been a basis of American policies. (Compare *Farewell Address*, **21**, 18.)

14. It is interesting to note the skilful manner in which Webster combines the conclusion of this paragraph with his greeting to the Bunker Hill veterans.

35, 22. Yonder proud ships. The Charlestown Navy Yard was within sight of Bunker Hill.

36, 7. Prescott . . . Bridge, officers of the American forces at Bunker Hill. Putnam and Stark, in particular, won fame in later battles. General Brooks was first president of the Monument Association.

20. another morn. . . . From Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

24. the first great Martyr, Dr. Joseph Warren of Boston, chairman of the Committee of Safety, president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and major-general of the Massachusetts troops. In the battle he served as a volunteer under Colonel Prescott, and fell as the Americans withdrew from the redoubt.

37, 23. Trenton . . . Saratoga, memorable battles of the Revolution.

38, 20. what a name you have contributed to give to your country. An undoubted reference to the well-known line in *The Star-Spangled Banner.*

39, 5. The Regulation Act of 1774 revoked the charter of Massachusetts, and transferred the seat of government to Salem. The Boston Port Bill closed the port of Boston to commerce.

40, 18. Virginia . . . own. The various colonial assemblies passed resolutions of sympathy with Massachusetts and Boston. The Virginia burgesses voted that "an attack upon one colony was an attack upon all British America."

41, 9. Lexington and Concord. April 19, 1775.

14. "An all-pervading soul inspires the mass, and mingles with the mighty bulk." — George W. Anderson, *Pawling School.*

27. **Quincy.** Josiah Quincy, a distinguished member of a family prominent among Massachusetts patriots. He had the moral courage to act as counsel for the British soldiers who were brought to trial for the Boston massacre.

42, 5. the four New England colonies, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Maine was a part of Massachusetts; Vermont was called The New Hampshire Grants.

13. **a state of open . . . war.** The legal status of belligerency.

21. **The previous proceedings of the colonies.** Among the most important Revolutionary state documents are the Declaration of Rights, the Petition to the King, and An Address to the People of Great Britain. The Declaration of Independence was issued a year after the battle.

43, 13. more of their enemies dead. . . . According to the British reports of the battle, their casualties were considerably more than fifty per cent.

43, 16–45, 15. The skill with which this delicate compliment to Lafayette is introduced into the oration without disturbing the unity is well worth particular study. The third paragraph in particular is a model.

In 1776, the Marquis de Lafayette was nineteen years old and a captain of dragoons in the French army. "At the first news of this quarrel," he afterwards wrote in his memoirs, "my heart was enrolled in it." Through Silas Deane, American agent in Paris, he made arrangements by which he was to enter the American service. He fitted out a ship at his own expense, and came to America with eleven chosen companions. He served with-

out pay, and became a lifelong friend of Washington. Though his military services were not particularly brilliant, he was a strong moral ally, who by his exalted rank in his own land did much for the American cause at a time when French aid was of the utmost importance.

Lafayette was one of the early leaders of the French Revolution, and was prominent in the early stages of the movement, when honest efforts were being made to establish a constitutional government. He had, however, no sympathy with the extreme measures that led to the execution of the king and the Reign of Terror; on the contrary, his attitude was such that the Assembly declared him a traitor in 1792, and forced him to flee from France. He returned in 1799, and lived in retirement during the empire. When the monarchy was restored, with constitutional limitations, he was chosen deputy, and served as such the rest of his life.

Lafayette visited America (July, 1824–September, 1825), and made a tour of the country, receiving everywhere popular applause. Congress voted him the sum of $200,000, and a township of land. His tour was so planned as to bring him to Boston in time to be present at the laying of the corner stone of the Monument, and he took part in the dedicatory exercises.

45, 12. Serus in coelum redeas. From an ode of Horace. Lytton renders it: "Stay thy return to heaven."

46, 12. The whole world . . . a common field. . . . Already two lines of sailing packets had been established between the United States and Europe.

21. marts and exchanges. Among the societies for the promotion of the arts and sciences referred to here were the French Institute, reorganized by Napoleon in 1803, and including the great French Academy (1816); the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Boston, 1780); and the American Philosophical Society (reorganized in Philadelphia, 1769). Of course the Royal Society of England was older.

47, 16. And while the . . . use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor. In England there had been a widespread prejudice against the recently invented machinery on

the part of the laboring classes, who claimed that machinery supplied the place of labor, and thus threw workmen out of employment. Rioting spread to such an extent that legislative action was necessary. It was some time before the British workmen learned that machinery was of benefit to them.

22. It might seem that Webster was getting away from his subject and branching out too broadly. Note how skilfully he brings his oration back to the subject of political liberty as an outcome of the Revolution.

48, 7. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field. Political liberty had been written about, discussed, and fought over.

9. wars of . . . magnitude. A reference to the European wars that began with the declaration of war against Austria and Prussia (see note on **33, 25**), and continued throughout the time of Napoleon, up to the battle of Waterloo in 1815.

11. A day of peace. The Congress of Vienna (1814–5) attempted to restore Europe to the general political situation that had existed before the war. The advance in political knowledge, however, to which Webster alludes in the following paragraphs, made necessary considerable recognition of constitutional right. Among the states that had more or less of constitutional liberty were France, Holland, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Naples, Hungary, Bavaria, and Hesse.

29. it took fire. . . . An allusion to the Reign of Terror. Under the Convention (see note on **33, 25**) the Committee of Public Safety held the reins of power. Its policy was to stifle all opposition by terror. Whoever was suspected of being hostile to the established tyranny was thrown into prison. Summary trials were followed by swift executions. The scaffold to the guillotine was crowded. Thousands of the nobility and clergy and their supporters perished in this wholesale slaughter, which spread from Paris to every part of France.

49, 13. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government. Burke, in his *Speech on Conciliation with America*, in speaking of the American Colonies, says, "Each of said Colonies hath within itself a body, chosen

in part or in the whole by the freemen, free holders, or other free inhabitants thereof, commonly called the General Assembly, or General Court; with powers legally to raise, levy, and assess . . . duties and taxes towards defraying all sorts of public services."

20. no domestic throne to overturn. An allusion to the deposing of the French king.

21. no privileged orders . . . no violent changes of property. . . . Under the French Republic all titles of nobility were abolished, and most of the property of the nobles was confiscated. The terrible revenge taken by the lower classes for ages of oppression at the hands of the nobility is clearly set forth in Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities*.

29. tendency adverse to the Christian religion. The French revolt against religion was as decided as that against the nobility. Christianity was denounced as a base superstition. The Commune of Paris instituted an atheistic festival in the cathedral of Notre Dame, and there enthroned a woman as the "Goddess of Reason."

50, 12. highly improved condition. See note **48, 11**, for a list of constitutional monarchies in 1825.

15. kingdoms . . . may be wrested. . . . The history of Alsace-Lorraine is a familiar example of this principle. Taken from France by Germany at the end of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871, it was taken from Germany at the end of the World War, and restored to France. The history of Poland offers another example.

51, 4. A call for the Representative system. Such a call was then being made in Prussia.

10. Louis XIV (1643–1715), the Grand Monarch, has come down in history as the perfect type of the unconstitutional monarch. The expression quoted, though modern historians would place it beside Wellington's "Up, guards, and at them," exactly expresses his principle of government.

25. the Grecian combatant, Ajax. The lines are from Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, book xvii.

52, 12. the interest of the world is peace. This sentiment appeals with particular force to the supporters of the League of Nations, and to many who, while not in favor of that instrument, are desirous of some workable international organization.

21. the interesting struggle of the Greeks. Inspired by the example of France, the Greeks revolted in 1821 against the rule of Turkey. For eight years a bloody contest was kept up. Public sentiment all over western Europe was in favor of the Greeks, and many volunteers, of whom Lord Byron was the most conspicuous, lent their services to the struggling patriots. European politics, as then played, required the maintenance of the so-called balance of power among the European states. Still, statesmen who might for political reasons have desired to have Turkey retain her full territorial strength did not dare, in face of public sympathy, actually to help Turkey to subdue the rebels. When British politics seemed to call for the institution of the new state, however, Great Britain acknowledged the belligerency of the Greeks, and later actually intervened in their favor. In 1829, Turkey was forced by the combination of Great Britain, France, and Russia to grant Greece her liberty. Webster was interested from the first in the cause of Greece. Not long after Great Britain recognized the Greeks as belligerents, he delivered a forceful speech in Congress, in support of his motion to send a commissioner to Greece.

53, 9. we look for instruction . . . to a country. . . . Greece, of course, is meant; but here Webster is slightly at fault. The Bunker Hill Monument is an exact reproduction, not of a Grecian column, but of an Egyptian obelisk. The orator's sympathy for the Greek cause led him into this mistake.

54, 11. To call the South American republics "settled and established states" is really straining a point for rhetorical effect. For many years after 1825, the South American states were anything but settled.

29. Borne down by colonial subjugation. Spanish colonial administration was notoriously oppressive. It will be recalled that this sort of action brought about the intervention of the United States in Cuba, and started the Spanish-American War,

which, in turn, stripped Spain of most of her remaining colonies.

55, 3. **a new creation.** "And God said, Let the waters . . . be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear." Genesis, I, 9. Note how Webster repeats in this paragraph in highly figurative language what he had said in more literal terms in the preceding paragraph.

10. The concluding paragraphs gave Webster's audience, and give the student, something to cherish, something to make them better American citizens. Compare the last sentence with the paragraph beginning near the bottom of page **32**, 27.

23. **other systems.** Constitutional monarchies, such as those of England and France. Experience has proved that such forms of government are compatible with real self-government.

57, 3. **Solon**, one of "the seven wise men of Greece," as Archon, in 594 B.C. gave Athens her first constitution.

Alfred (871–901), the only one of the long line of English kings to be honored with the title of "the Great," established a stable government in England.

25. **Our country**. Union and the Constitution had been at least the underlying themes in almost every one of Webster's public addresses. The division into "free states" and "slave states" was already well under way, and it is characteristic of Webster that his last word here should be an appeal for Union.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Introduction. — On the 19th of November, 1863, a portion of the battlefield of Gettysburg was dedicated as a soldiers' cemetery. Edward Everett of Massachusetts, then considered the most accomplished public speaker of the day, was the orator of the occasion, but it was thought only proper that the President, who attended in his official capacity, should make some remarks. Everett's oration was scholarly and polished, and was reported in full in the newspapers of the next day. Lincoln's speech was, to use his own words, " blocked out " in Washington (tradition says on the back of an envelope) and corrected after his arrival at Gettysburg. It may, then, be considered as a spontaneous outpouring of the speaker's mind.

The newspapers that printed Everett's oration generally added that the President of the United States made a few brief remarks. Other than this, no immediate public notice was taken of it. Everett himself, however, was not slow to recognize the merit of the President's speech, and the very next day wrote to him as follows: " Permit me also to express my great admiration of the thoughts expressed by you with such eloquent simplicity and appropriateness at the consecration of the cemetery. I should be glad if I could flatter myself that I came as near the central idea of the occasion in two hours as you did in two minutes."

J. G. Holland, then an editor of the *Springfield Republican*, also recognized the merit of the speech at the time, and praised it highly in his paper. Other literary critics followed with the highest praise, but the general public took some time to recognize that the world's greatest short speech was before them.

Lincoln had established high reputation for clear, simple, forceful, and logical speaking in his debates with Douglas, and his public utterances during his presidential campaign and after his election had but served to confirm earlier judgment. The Civil War was the crisis of our national history; the battle of

Notes

Gettysburg was the crisis of the War. It was natural, then, that this occasion should call forth the best efforts of the wonderful mind that had been first to seize upon the vital point of the whole dispute and put it into words so simple that anyone could understand it and so forceful that no one could forget it.

The simplicity of this speech is remarkable. The occasion was the dedication of the National Cemetery. Note how skilfully Lincoln handles the word "dedicate," and how he passes from "to dedicate" to "to *be* dedicated," — the lesson he would impress upon his hearers and his countrymen. The student of concise English would do well to count the number of statements in these thirty lines, and then consider the amount of material for thought that they provide.

Lincoln begins with the same idea that Washington began with — "conceived in liberty" (**5**, **9**) — and concludes with the same idea that Webster voiced in his closing paragraph (**57**, **5**). So through these three selections runs an echo of the spirit that binds them in unity.

The text of this edition is from a fac-simile of the draft made by Mr. Lincoln himself for publication.

IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF LINCOLN

1809.	Born in Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12.
1816.	Moved to Indiana.
1818.	His mother died.
1828.	Trip to New Orleans on a flatboat.
1829.	Moved to Illinois.
1831.	Clerk in a country store, New Salem, Illinois.
1832.	Captain of volunteers in Black Hawk War.
1832.	Whig candidate for Legislature; defeated.
1833.	Storekeeper and postmaster; studied law.
1834–42.	Served in state legislature.
1837.	Began practice of law in Springfield, Illinois.
1846.	Elected to Congress.
1849.	Resumed the practice of law.
1854.	First public debate with Douglas.
1856.	One of the founders of the Republican party.

1858. Nominated for United States Senate. Public debates with Douglas.
1860. Speech in Cooper Union.
1861–5. President of the United States.
1865. April 14. Assassinated.

The Address. — The unity of this composition is remarkable. There are really but three points: the occasion, a transitional idea, and the deeper significance of the occasion. The appropriateness of the memorial, the tribute to those who had given their lives for the nation, and the duty of the living — are most skilfully combined in these ten sentences.

The diction is also remarkable. Critics said of Johnson's best papers that the author himself could not change a single word for the better. This remark applies with even greater force to this speech. In addition, the prevalence of short, plain words, with delicate repetition of words and phrases, adds to the simplicity that characterizes this masterpiece.

PAGE 59, Line 1. **Fourscore and seven years ago.** How much better for an open-air audience than "eighty-seven years ago," or "in the year 1776."

2. **conceived in liberty.** Compare *Farewell Address*, 5, 9.

4. **all men are created equal.** Compare the opening sentence of the second paragraph of the *Declaration of Independence*.

8. **A great battle-field.** Gettysburg is considered the decisive battle of the Civil War. In fact, the story of that battle has been made an appendix to Creasy's memorable *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*.

11. **It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.** If this sentence were omitted, it might seem that Lincoln were belittling the action of the day in the light of the greater duty of the survivors. It gives the reader an instance of the consideration Lincoln had for the opinions of others.

14. **The brave men . . . who struggled here.** Governor Mann of Virginia, in an address to the veterans of the Northern and Southern armies at Gettysburg, July 4, 1913, called attention to the fact that Lincoln did not say "brave Northern men," and claimed that the wording showed that Lincoln "was big

enough and broad enough to comprehend both South and North."

60, 7. that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. Compare the idea in Webster's last paragraph, "great duty of defense and preservation."

LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Introduction. — Lincoln's *Second Inaugural Address* is placed by general consent next to the *Gettysburg Address* for the qualities of style that have caused the author to be regarded as the master of the short speech. It has the same clearness and vigor of expression that mark the earlier speech, the same beauty of form, and in the latter part a loftiness of tone unequalled, except, possibly, by that of some of the Old Testament prophets.

In the darkest hour of the Rebellion, Lincoln was requested by the little daughter of one of his friends in Washington to write in her autograph album. He wrote, " God will give us the victory, A. Lincoln." The closing paragraphs of the *Second Inaugural* are evidence of the sublime faith that supported this great man through what was perhaps the greatest burden ever placed upon the head of a nation.

PAGE **61**, Line 4. **a statement . . . of a course to be pursued,** the *First Inaugural Address*, March 4, 1861. The main theme in this address was the preservation of the Union. That Lincoln thought his one great duty, not the extinction of slavery. In this address he declared: " I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." He claimed that the Union was, in legal contemplation, perpetual, and that no state upon its own motion could get out of the Union. He further stated: " To the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. In doing this there needs to be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority."

10. **The progress of our arms . . . high hope for the future.** Sherman's march " from Atlanta to the Sea " had cut the Confederacy in two, and had practically subjugated the southern

half. In the north, Grant was closing in around Lee, whose surrender at Appomattox came only five weeks after this speech was delivered. Two weeks after that, Johnston's army surrendered, and the war was over. When this speech was being delivered, all knew that the end was close at hand.

17. **impending civil war.** South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had at the time of the First Inaugural passed ordinances of secession, and the congressmen from these states had resigned from Congress. Troops were being enlisted and trained in all of these states. On April 13, 1861, the first shot of the war was fired at Fort Sumter.

62, 3. **negotiation.** During the session of Congress between the election of 1860 and Lincoln's first inauguration, most of the time was spent in fruitless discussion of proposals for compromise. Some Northern conservatives and commercial interests were quite willing to compromise, in order to avert war. Lincoln would never consider any compromise, for he believed that his stand was right. In a letter to Representative Washburne, December 13, 1860, he wrote, "Prevent as far as possible any of our friends from demoralizing themselves and their cause by entertaining propositions for compromise of any sort on slavery extension."

5. **the other would accept war rather than let it perish.** Compare *Gettysburg Address*, page **59**, line 5; also page **60**, lines **7–9**.

11. **this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war.** To a Southern statesman Lincoln wrote soon after his election, "You think slavery is right and ought to be extended; we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted."

In a letter to Horace Greeley, in 1862, he wrote: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

As early as March, 1862, Lincoln proposed a plan of gradual abolition of slavery, with compensation by the Federal govern-

ment. Unfortunately, this plan never met with the approval of the slave states that had not seceded.

When General Hunter, commanding the Department of the South, issued a military order declaring the slaves in his department free, Lincoln declared the order void. He added, "Whether it be competent for me, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any state free, and whether, at any time, in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself."

As the rebellion went on, the relation of slavery to the struggle became more manifest. Lincoln's long-continued efforts to bring about gradual emancipation with compensation failed to gain support. Then, convinced that freeing the slaves was a "fit and necessary war measure," he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. The history of the war proves that this measure was a means of weakening the Confederacy and preserving the Union.

17. the magnitude or the duration. The first call of the President for troops was for 75,000 volunteers, and the period of service was named as six months. At the time of this address four years of fighting had elapsed, and there were almost a million men in the Union service.

27. judge not, that we be not judged. *Matthew*, vii, 1. Here is evidence of Lincoln's consideration for those who honestly differed from him.

63, 1. Woe unto the world because of offenses. *Matthew*, xviii, 7.

20. The judgments of the Lord . . . *Psalms*, xix, 9.

In the fervid sentences of this paragraph one may read Lincoln's idea of slavery, and may also see that he did not think the North had been entirely blameless for the continuance of the institution.

22. With malice toward none; with charity for all. These words express, better than any written by any biographer, the keynote of Lincoln's character. Probably none of his own words have been more often quoted.

QUOTATIONS
AND
OUTLINES

QUOTATIONS

FROM WASHINGTON

Unity of government . . . is a main pillar in the edifice of . . . real independence . . . the palladium of your political safety and prosperity.

Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections.

The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.

The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions.

Party spirit serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration.

Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion.

Towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; to have revenue there must be taxes; no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant.

It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.

The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations,

is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

FROM WEBSTER

The great discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient colony forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

We trust it will be prosecuted; and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain, as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem both of the events in memory of which it is raised and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious action is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind.

Human beings are composed not of reason only, but of imagination also.

We wish that the last object on the sight of him who leaves his native shore and the first to gladden his who revisits it may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country.

Venerable men! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives that you might behold this joyous day.

You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance and your own bright example.

Look abroad into the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last day from the improved condition of mankind.

Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. . . . We have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. *Serus in coelum redeas.* Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant be the day when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy.

In these interesting times, when nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they, too, make a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current beneath, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war.

Quotations

Although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; . . . yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses.

The powers of government are but a trust, and cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community.

If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or another, in some place or another, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

There remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation. Let our object be, our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country.

FROM LINCOLN

Every student should memorize the *Gettysburg Address*.

OUTLINE OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

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